

The University of Chicago

ESSENTIAL TRAITS OF FRENCH-
CANADIAN POETRY

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1935

By

JANE MASON TURNBULL

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I

Quebec is one province out of nine which comprise the Dominion of Canada, and the French population of the whole country according to the estimate of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1934, is less than three million out of nearly ten million. Yet this province, mainly French in population, claims to be creating a "national" literature. If ten recognitions by the Académie Française¹ may be taken as a criterion, French Canada has climbed well up on the ladder, in so far as her progress can be measured by her literature. This achievement has prompted critical studies from abroad, such as those by Charles ab der Halden and Laurence Bisson, as well as a substantial body of history and criticism by the French Canadians themselves. As yet, however, no one has considered the consecutive movements in the history of French-Canadian poetry with a view to discovering its essential traits as a product of the French-Canadian situation and character. The object of the present study has been to examine the poetry of writers who are conceded by the historians and critics to be outstanding, in the endeavor to discover from their treatment of themes and use of procédés whether or not they have achieved an originality representative of their Canadian nationality. For the purpose of this inquiry, then, "national" shall be understood to mean French-Canadian as distinct from European French. Vattier has demonstrated that the mentality of the people of Quebec, while remaining essentially French, has been moulded and modified by various influences, until now it is distinctive.² Hanotaux declared that they possess "une âme locale et française tout à la fois."³ Camille Roy testified to

¹J. C. Bracq, The Evolution of French Canada (New York: Macmillan, 1924), p. 349.

²Essai sur la mentalité canadienne-française (Paris: Champion, 1928), p. 375.

³"Préface" to F-X. Garneau, Histoire du Canada (6th ed.; Paris: Alcan, 1920), p. ix.

the formative influence of contacts in a new world.¹ It is in the light of the important factors which have contributed to the formation of l'âme canadienne that this poetry must be studied.

II

Before attempting to estimate the significance of the political and social past of Quebec, and of government, religion and education in the evolution of the soul of her people, it is important to note the cardinal facts concerning their origin, environment and chief occupations. Investigations² have shown that the French-Canadian people were of northern, provincial origin, mainly Norman. The "miracle canadien" is that this base should have been preserved with remarkable purity in spite of long separations from the mother country and through the changing fortunes of three centuries. The amazing increase in French population from 65,000 at the time of the treaty of Paris (1763), has been achieved by birth rather than by immigration, and today ninety-six per cent of the population of the province is Canadian born.³ Because of the difficulty of measuring accurately the influence of one race upon another, writers have expressed widely divergent views as to the probable effect of English and American proximity upon the formation of the French-Canadian people.⁴ However, conclusive proof of some degree of English penetration has been given in the matter of language.⁵ In the use which these people have made of the opportunities afforded by the physical features of their province whose area is almost three

¹Essais sur la littérature canadienne (Quebec: Garnier, 1907), p. 360.

²By Abbé Ferland, Abbé S. A. Lortie, E. Rameau.

³"Quebec," Encyclopedia Britannica (13th ed.; 1926).

⁴Bracq, op. cit., p. 175; Vattier, op. cit., p. 327; Louis Arnould, Nos amis les Canadiens (3rd ed.; Paris: Oudin & Cie, 1913), p. 35.

⁵A. Rivard, Etudes sur les parlers de France au Canada (Quebec: Garneau, 1914), pp. 40, 57; Louvigny de Montigny, La Langue française au Canada (Ottawa: Chez l'Auteur, 1916), p. 40.

times that of France,¹ they are mainly agricultural,² devoted to the land, sensitive to the wild beauty of their country with its mountains, its bountiful supply of lakes and large rivers, and its two million square miles of literally trackless forest. The exhilarating northern climate, with rapidly fluctuating temperatures and clear skies, though slow in its influence, may nevertheless be thought to have a direct relation with their vigor and energy, their buoyancy and gaiety. Upon this basis comprised of the material factors of race, environment and occupation rests the civilization represented by their government, religion and education.

These factors interest us only in so far as they help us to understand the spirit of French-Canadian poetry. As regards government, then, it must be noted that the heroic period of colonization and exploration in Canada synchronizes with the age of ascendent absolutism in France, the age of Henri IV, Richelieu, and Louis XIV. In the colony, it was the time when the events which were later to become the stuff of the nation's epics were lived through with little worldly fame and a full measure of suffering. However, the despotism of the ancien régime, in virtually debarring the colonists from any part in the administration of affairs so affected the mental life of the people that Sir John Bourinot described them as "sunk in an intellectual lethargy"³ at the time of the conquest (1763). With the beginning of British rule, however, there opened for the French a period of opportunity in the higher sphere of government and consequently a period of mental growth. Under the stress of issues which involved their language, religion and laws, they participated in a struggle of mind and will which had the political platform as the battle-ground, reports and bills as the trophies, and newspapers (which had not existed in Canada under the French régime) as the batteries. Political questions provided the themes for the earliest attempts at literary expression. This may explain the

¹Bracq, op. cit., p. 234.

²G. Vattier, Esquisse historique de la colonisation de la province de Quebec (Paris: Champion, 1928); W. Bovey, Canadien (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1913), pp. 66-78.

³The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1881), p. 6.

French-Canadian love of eloquence even at the expense of perspicacity, as well as a certain delight in satirical tirades. Furthermore, the utilitarian nature of the subjects debated did not necessitate and therefore did not encourage the probing of the abstract and the complex. Extended in practice through the decades, such campaigning seems to have resulted in a prevailing preference for generalities, which Vattier has described as a decided neglect of a hereditary intellectual gift for exploring the world of thought.¹

It is an unchallenged fact that religion has been the most potent factor in moulding the French-Canadian mentality.² The history of the Roman church in Quebec bears testimony to the lasting strength of the zeal which motivated the pioneers. It is largely due to the highly centralized character of the ecclesiastical organization and to the vigilant loyalty of the clergy that language, laws and traditions have been preserved, even though British rule has offered the privileges of "the most tolerant and generous religious policy since the Reformation."³ By circumstance and by choice the people of Quebec have remained apart from the intellectual movements of France, with the result that they have an attitude of mind which is more passive in its unquestioning acceptance of authority than it is active in testing out new creeds.⁴ While this does not preclude some infiltration, it does mean that the religious point of view permeates every phase of the life of the French Canadian, until its emotions, its pageantry, its charity, its respect for the traditional sanctities of social life have become inseparable from his national character.

As regards education, the most salient fact is that from the beginning church and school have been closely bound together,

¹Essai sur la mentalité canadienne-française, p. 127.

²A. Siegfried, Le Canada. Les deux races (Paris: Colin, 1906), p. 3; Vattier, op. cit., p. 171; Bovey, op. cit., pp. 44-63.

³C. Martin, Empire and Commonwealth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

⁴Bracq, op. cit., p. 30; B. Nicholson, The French Canadian (Toronto: The Bryant Press, 1902), p. 101.

the clergy being the true educationists of the province.¹ During the one hundred and fifty-two years of French rule, there was no printing press in the country,² and after the conquest defensive wars and constitutional struggles, together with the battle for a livelihood, crowded education into the background. The primum vivere compulsion fostered in Canadians an indifference to study for its own sake and created a public that at first had no leisure and later little taste for intellectual pursuits. This apathy continued long after greater wealth placed parents in a position to offer their children courses at the classical colleges affiliated with Laval University (1854). An important result of such a restricted cultural basis was indiscriminate literary criticism, which ran to the extremes of adulation or scorn, or foundered upon the reefs of personalities. Artistic creation, then, had to take second place to the daily bread, had to survive the neglect of an unappreciative public, had to persevere without the early aid of discerning criticism, and finally had to face the depressing futility of the colonial in the presence of the inimitable masterpieces of the homeland.

III

Having surveyed broadly some of the facts of the Canadian situation as they entered into the formation of provincial character, it seems expedient to begin with the first book of verse published in Quebec. This was Epîtres, satires, chansons, épi-grammes et autres pièces de vers (1830) by a journalist, Michel Bibaud (1782-1857). In spite of all that was adverse to the cultivation of a native literature, there were evidences of an urge in that direction in the early establishment (1779, 1819) of public libraries,³ in the formation of literary clubs, however ephemeral,⁴ and in the publication of newspapers and periodicals.⁵

¹Bovey, op. cit., pp. 118-50.

²C. W. Colby, Canadian Types of the Old Régime (New York: Holt, 1908).

³A. Fauteux, "Les Bibliothèques canadiennes et leur histoire," Revue canadienne, XVII (1916), 97 ff.

⁴Roy, Nos origines littéraires (Quebec: l'Action Sociale, 1909).

⁵Horace Tétu, Historique des journaux de Québec (Quebec: Brousseau, 1875).

It was in these papers that prose and poetry of Canadian inspiration first appeared, and because of the pre-eminence of political issues during the first half of the century, it was natural that many a rhymster should serve his party by lively chansons and reckless satire. Since the little volume of Bibaud is a collection of pieces which he wrote for his various newspapers from 1817 on, it reflects the taste of his time for ephemeral offerings in the conventional manner of the eighteenth century: riddles, epigrams, chansons, etc. In his satires and epistles which are both literary and social in subject, Bibaud was indebted to Horace and Boileau, his acknowledged masters. In seventeenth-century France, however, satire became representative of the cardinal principles of literary law because of its usefulness as a polemic in the interest of the classical doctrine of reason, nature and art. The aim of Bibaud in using it was less literary than it was utilitarian, a fact quite in keeping with what we have noted concerning the Canadian background. Inspiration, art, beauty, permanence, were submerged by the desire to correct prevalent follies, and Bibaud's conception of reason and nature was classical only in so far as they served his purpose in combatting the social evils of his time. Reason he thought synonymous with measure, and nature with humanity, but it is doubtful if he ever thought of one or the other as "universelle et éternelle, supérieure au goût individuel, imposant ses caractères à la beauté."¹ On the other hand, the collected verse of Bibaud, devoid as it is of imagination and sparkle, subtlety of thought, and freshness of expression, has this in common with the satires of Horace and Bibaud, that in reproving and ridiculing the petty weaknesses of the time, it also constitutes a record of actual life. Trivial law-suits, the manifold superstitions of the country-folk, the invective of the hustings, pride in the farm to the neglect of the mind, the inseparable pipe and the ravages of rum, incompetent doctors, thrift carried to the point of parsimony, illiterate journalists, all have been rescued from the dusty archives of rare old newspapers, and for him who is not a stickler for art, those early days come to light in their rough reality in this volume of 1830.

¹R. Bray, La Formation de la doctrine classique en France (Paris: Hachette, 1927), p. 128.

All previous literary effort was eclipsed when the Histoire du Canada by F-X. Garneau appeared in 1845. It was in fact the first enduring achievement of the struggling French-Canadian nationality, and it was immediately recognized as such by Garneau's compatriots, whose national pride was stirred into aiding and abetting the author in the search for documents to perfect the later editions of 1852 and 1859. This history awakened the youths in the classical colleges to an intense interest in the heroisms of their forebears, and it presented the raw material awaiting Canadian artistry. As a prelude to the major performance of his life, Garneau was known in Quebec as a poet (1832-41). His verse is to be found with that of his contemporaries in the Répertoire national compiled by Huston, and like them, he wrote oratorical, political poetry, prompted by the events of the period. He differed from them, however, in that by his own effort, he achieved the broader culture of study and travel with the result that he was able to step beyond the frontiers of politics and to sing his love of country with a lyrical quality which made him a forerunner of a whole generation of writers. Having formed his taste in the tradition of Boileau and the French poets of the eighteenth century, Garneau was predominantly pseudo-classical in style and expression, though passages pervaded by a certain vague sadness or touched with faint exotic color, indicate his appreciation of Lamartine and Hugo. From his attitude of meditation upon the past of the disappearing Indian race, he came to a conception of Nature which interpreted her as a steadfast onlooker before the changing kaleidoscope of the ages. In this, as well as in his inclination for historical color and patriotic feeling, he anticipated the School of Quebec.

About the time that Garneau deserted all other devotions for Clio, the Montreal press began to publish bits of verse by Joseph Lenoir-Rolland (1822-61). At the time of his death, at the age of thirty-eight, this poet was a public functionary, doing multiple duties in the Bureau of Education. Funeral honors were accorded him as such, but if the necrological articles reflect public opinion faithfully, the loss to Canadian letters was foremost in all minds in the presence of his premature death. Twenty-two of his poems have been collected and published by Casimir Hébert in Poemes épars de Joseph Lenoir-Rolland (1916). They differed from those of his contemporaries in that they were

neither political in content nor pseudo-classical in form. Lenoir was an independent in the sense that he introduced to French-Canadian poetry new themes and greater directness of expression. It is true that much of his work is indebted to other literatures, English, German and French. It is true that though he was concrete, he did not often identify a Canadian locale. However, he was a forerunner of the men of the sixties in that he evinced a marked preference for Romantic color and feeling. He anticipated the School of Quebec when he brought before his readers Canadian social problems such as the benefits of education and the urgent need for charity. His initiative in the choice of themes was no more marked than the freedom he found in breaking away from the impedimenta of pseudo-classical rhetoric.

IV

The verse of Garneau and Lenoir seemed but a promise of what was to be achieved by the concerted effort of a few literati who have since been designated as the School of Quebec. If the word "School" must be interpreted in the narrow sense of a literary doctrine to which a group of men subscribe confidently and obediently because they believe it represents the most perfect form of artistic expression, the writers who lived in Quebec about 1860 have been misnamed. It was rather a patriotic purpose which animated their activities, for they supplemented the efforts of the political leaders who had striven for racial survival as the ulterior motive beyond the persistent fight for political independence. As cultured French Canadians, these men realized that the establishment of responsible government in the forties had not ended the larger struggle for the continuance of their ethnic identity. Their French heritage must be nurtured if it were to be perpetuated. Accordingly, while orators promoted the interests of the province in Parliament, greater political peace enabled this group of intellectuals to participate in a literary productivity which has since been called the movement of 1860.

The sessions of Parliament and of Laval University had brought them to Quebec and they formed a congenial group of business and professional men. "They met each other more by chance than by appointment, sometimes at the presbytery with the Abbé H. R. Casgrain, or in a journalist's office with J. C. Taché,

or in the legislative library where Gérin-Lajoie was in charge. Most frequently they found one another in the bookshop of the Crémazie brothers where the latest importations from France were offered for sale and where Octave, the younger brother, was sure to launch a stimulating discussion. F-X. Garneau was among them, with Etienne Parent, Dr. Hubert LaRue, the Abbé Ferland and Fiset. Since most of these men had a little prose to their credit, they decided to found a "recueil de littérature nationale" from which political discussions and European reproductions would be banned, in order that creative literary effort might be fostered and a wider interest awakened in the preservation of Canadian folklore. Thus Les Soirées canadiennes was founded in 1861, and among the prose legends, travels, novels, history, biography that appeared in the succeeding five volumes (1861-65), are works that are now regarded as classics of the early French-Canadian literature. However, dollars and cents disrupted the unanimity of disinterested effort,¹ resulting in the withdrawal of some of the supporters from Les Soirées canadiennes to establish another recueil which they called Le Foyer canadien (1863-66). In 1865 the removal of the government to Ottawa and the consequent departure of leading promoters from Quebec brought about the discontinuance of both publications. That the pioneers had communicated their ambition and their vision to the younger men of the country was made evident by the founding of Les nouvelles Soirées canadiennes in 1882, with the same aim as that of the first Soirées, namely, "de fortifier nos institutions et notre langue."

Thus the "School of Quebec" is a term used to designate a relatively small group of initiators who form a unit in that they were actuated by the same patriotic purpose. The fact that they were reading and discussing the same books from the contemporary French market may be regarded as a further bond between them, for in spite of the diversity of their literary activities, there is little doubt but that they all found something to admire in the works of the French Romanticists. This is particularly true of such representative poets as Octave Crémazie, Louis H. Fréchette, Léon Pamphile Lemay and William Chapman.

¹L. Gérin, "L'histoire véritable de deux revues québécoises," Le Canada français, XIII (1925-26), 13-27.

Octave Crémazie (1822-79) has been called "national bard" just as F-X. Garneau was proudly acclaimed by his people as "national historian." It was between 1849 and 1862 that he wrote his "petit bagage poétique" which was collected after his death by the Abbé H. R. Casgrain and published in one volume, Oeuvres complètes de Octave Crémazie, in 1882, together with his correspondence and his journal. Crémazie was one who committed himself to paper whenever the occasion prompted it, especially at the New Year when he conformed to custom in writing a retrospective survey of the important events of the year at home and abroad for publication in the local newspapers. The subjects of these contributions very often imposed a faint exotic coloring, while the use of proper names and balanced lines is reminiscent of Hugo. The praise of France as the defender of the oppressed and a paragon of enlightenment and justice is the highest common factor of poems which achieve a return to the native land by exhorting Canadians to honor the shades of French ancestors and the shores which harbor their graves. The breadth of outlook displayed, the actuality of the events and the nobility of feeling won the admiration of Crémazie's compatriots, but when these poems, written through the years, are set in one volume, they seem lamentably repetitious and stiffly inflated with pseudo-classical conventionalities. It is not for these compositions that the burly bookseller is revered.

When in 1855 commercial relations were renewed with France, the "Capricieuse" came to Quebec, the first French vessel to enter Canadian waters in nearly one hundred years. To the French Canadians it signified the return of a faithless mother to her long neglected children, and the whole country went wild with genuine rejoicing. To celebrate the event, Crémazie wrote "Le vieux soldat" in which he gave unostentatious remembrance to old heroisms of the national past in a narrative setting. Similarly, to usher in the centennial year (Jan. 1, 1858) of the memorable French victory at Fort Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, he wrote "Le Drapeau de Carillon." Again it is the backward gaze of old soldiers to les beaux jours in the service of France, and the pathetic story of cherished memories and hopes disappointed under her long neglect. The poignancy of the poem lies in the discovery

that eighteenth century France, typified by Voltaire and Louis Quinze, had departed from ancient virtues which Quebec still revered. The culte de la France in Canada had become a loyalty to a faded ideal.

These poems flew to the heart of the people. Crémazie had probed below political differences and tapped the spring of their unanimity -- unparalleled devotion to the French heritage. At the same time, he remained true to their distinctiveness as Canadians in voicing their fealty to England. Furthermore, the diction of these poems is free from obtrusive false nobility and is penetrated with that wistful emotion characteristic of folk poetry.

Besides his ability to convey the invisible fidelities of his people, Crémazie is noteworthy for his poem in honor of Laval, in which he attempted a panoramic survey of primeval Canada with the arrival of the first white men, and the heroism of early martyrs. This survey recalls Hugo's visions and anticipates Fréchette's more grandiose retrospects. Again, in "Le Chant des voyageurs," Crémazie gave new spirit and fresh subject matter to the literature of the liberty-loving, proudly upright, outdoor heroes brought into vogue by Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. The Canadian raftsmen extol life in the open in the remote forest, but instead of the proud heroism of the Europeans which often flaunted itself in revolt, a matter-of-fact hardihood underlies their naïve credulity and their affection for home ties. Thus the spirit of French Canada renews an old genre. Similarly, in "Le Promenade de trois morts" there is something of the macabre horror of Gautier's "Comédie de la mort," but the Canadian's anchor of a firm religious faith holds fast against the shifting sands of Romantic morbidity and despair. Thus Octave Crémazie not only awakened his people to a proud sense of their racial inheritance, but he reflected some of their distinctive qualities as French Canadians.

The phrase Sturm und Drang comes insistently to mind to epitomize the career of Louis H. Fréchette (1839-1908) in Canadian letters, for in his early years particularly, he was as indefatigable in his political activities as he was later a staunch defender of his literary probity against carping faultfinders. His Les Fleurs boréales was the first French-Canadian volume to be recognized by the Académie Française (1880), and this honor

initiated a succession of others at home and abroad which made him for forty years the most prominent literary figure in Quebec. The final edition of his verse was published in three volumes in the year of his death, 1908, and consists of the epic La Légende d'un Peuple (1887), together with collected lyrics, and a play, Veronica (1898). The play, while historically important as an evidence of the influence of the Romantic drama, betrays the superficiality of Fréchette's culture, in that the plane on which the action moves is not that of the intellect, of profound emotion or of aesthetics, but that of unadulterated sensationalism in which the sanguinary details of crime are the prime factors. His collected poems include a large number of pieces written for public and private functions with much pseudo-classical bombast which has nothing whatever to say to posterity. Like his Canadian predecessors, Fréchette stressed the cult of valiant ancestors, pride in the beneficent mission of France toward humanity, the saving rôle of education in the life of a nation, the bulwark of religious tradition. However, he was more lyrical than they, when he used Lamartine and Hugo and Musset as models for the expression of his own memories of a joyous youth, of early loves and friendships. He knew the nostalgic pleasure of contemplating a happy past, but on the whole he was not given to their deeper melancholy. Louis Fréchette was no dweller in the innermost. He placed child-like trust in the wisdom and mercy of "la Justice immense" and found in the ordinary intimacy of his home a haven from the battles of the outer world. Though he often used a conventional Nature as a cadre for his memories, it is noteworthy that he was spontaneous and direct before the rugged, impregnable cliffs of the Saguenay and the tumbling, noisy rapids which abound in the rivers of Quebec. To be sure, he was negligent regarding the canons of art and taste, rhyming in epithets, for instance, or introducing an incongruous picnic-party. Nevertheless, his sense of Nature's overpowering majesty, when supplemented by his vivid recollection of the epic deeds of the national past, helped him to write his most individual volume, La Légende d'un Peuple.

In this work, Fréchette aims to recount the struggle of the French race in Canada, from the arrival of Cartier (1535) to the death of Louis Riel (1885), by transfixing such dramatic episodes from history and legend as are revelatory of the soul of the people. The volume is comprised of detached pieces composed

between 1873 and 1887, grouped in three parts, presenting the struggle against the hostile aborigines, against the rival English, against a British constitution. As to general plan, then, the work seems to have been modelled upon Hugo's La Légende des Siècles. Antecedent native literature provided the chief sources upon which the pieces were built. The whole has but one hero, a pious peuple de travailleurs, who are unified by the singleness of their devotion to the Cross and to France. The action is set within the frame of the magnificent, mysterious might of the land over which the conflict was waged. The breadth of surveys, bits of idyllic charm, eery touches of the merveilleux, the mounting force of the périodes, the vigor of narrative description are artistic reinforcements which support the essential qualities of the work, even if they do not completely shield the faults which mar it. The cult of France, for instance, obtrudes to the neglect of a distinct nation's achievement. In Part III, Fréchette confused the cause of his people with that of dissentious minorities, and in accordance with his own political bias, acted as the champion of rebellious extremists. Furthermore, the work suffers throughout from technical lapses in craftsmanship, typical of a man who was too easily satisfied. Yet Fréchette was the pride of his people when literature was still a luxury and his poetry but bears the marks of the long trail of the pioneer.

Though the work of Léon Pamphile Lemay (1837-1918) continued to the end in the manner of the pioneer School, he set the trend for those moderns who saw in the portrayal of provincial life the richest resource of the new French-Canadian poetry. Lemay was "regional" by the habits and inclinations of a lifetime, preferring the peace of the countryside, the mysticism it inspired and its patient, picturesque life. He published eight volumes of verse, of which the most outstanding is his collection of sonnets, Les Gouttelettes (1904). Though his quiet, gentle temperament was little suited to the high swell of occasional verse, he complied with custom, paid his obeisance to the recognized Canadian themes in praise of charity and the traditional virtues of valiant ancestors, and in disparagement of emigration as contrasted with the blessing of living and dying under the roof of one's fathers. Like his contemporaries, he wrote poems of sentiment with many an echo of Lamartine and Hugo. These are to be found in Essais poétiques (1865), Petits Poèmes (1883),

Une Gerbe (1879), Les Epis (1914). He attempted the epic in "La Découverte du Canada" (1870), wrote a rhymed novel entitled, Les Vengeances (1875), and a volume of Fables canadiennes (1882). His peasant origin coupled with a certain sensitive tenderness made him keenly aware of the sights and sounds of the outdoors, gave him understanding insight where others saw only human routine in country life, enabled him to sense eternal values where others knew only the commonplace. These gifts were enhanced by a power to record the effective detail so that in his work as a whole, Lemay limned the life of the cultivateur not only in its picturesque external aspects, but also in its profound essential traits. Thus, along with the rhythmic sound of the flail in the lantern-lighted dimness of the granary, or the busy tumult of tools and voices at a house-raising, a glimpse is afforded of the thresher's pious content and of the builder's noisy gaiety. Seasonal merrymaking, vague wooings, cordial hospitality, calm domesticity in a humble partnership of labor, thanksgiving for divine assistance and protection, naïve credulity in rural superstitions, all combine to form a somewhat idealized picture of the agriculturist of Quebec. As Lemay returned at intervals from the city to visit the scenes of his childhood, he found that while old men and housewives, lovers and heedless little boys still united in the same oral prayers, kneeling before the same wayside cross on a Sunday afternoon, these people were now all strangers to him. From that came the thought of the unbroken continuity of the generations, carrying forward the same customs, like actors in an unending drama, under the eyes of those who once played but now watch from the wings. This is the same vast timelessness which Garneau attributed to an unchanging Nature and it is the very atmosphere of Quebec. In voicing this sense of racial continuance Lemay prepared the way for the regionalists.

William Chapman (1850-1917) will always be remembered because of the virulence of his attacks upon Louis Fréchette, his rival for laurels, although his five volumes of verse contain little that is indicative of the spirit of the jealous critic. He seemed to repent of his early vehemence when the Académie Française had crowned two of his own works, Les Aspirations (1904) and Les Rayons du nord (1909). He belonged to the generation of pioneers because his verse carried on the tradition of devotion to liberty and God and native land. Like the poets before him,

he began with confidences of love modelled upon those of the French Romanticists. As the years passed he wrote an increasing amount of occasional verse which seems now very dull and dusty.

Chapman is of historical importance, first, because he depicted the adventurous lives of provincial types hitherto overlooked: the missionary losing his way and dying in a blizzard in the forest; the traversiers in their hazardous crossing of a river choked with floating ice; the lumbermen and log-rollers descending from the chantiers in the spring, riding the cage or breaking a jam; the trapper making his lonely rounds in the dead of winter in the waste places of the north; the hunter on snow-shoes in relentless pursuit of a moose; the Métis in the carnage of a buffalo-hunt upon the western plains. The somewhat showy settings in which these men are placed serve only to bring into relief their dauntless hardihood and endurance, their energy and cheerfulness, their profanity and their simple trust in Providence. Chapman chose to depict Canadian Nature in her most regal aspects: the mighty Niagara, the play of northern lights, the forest in hoar frost and the prairie in flames. In doing so, his execution did not always equal his conception. Again and again he was guilty of exaggeration and breaches of taste, so that an admirable effect falls to ruin by the injection of a ludicrous detail. He inclined to excess in his use of the Hugonian catalogue and accumulation, but he does preserve the verve and élan essential to the subjects he chose.

Secondly, Chapman's verse is important because there is sufficient evidence to indicate that he understood the procédés of the later French schools, the Parnassians and the Symbolists, and in attempting to adopt them, he joined hands with the generation of les jeunes in Montreal. With Crémazie he courted the macabre, but he did so rather after the manner of Verlaine. With Gautier, he drew upon the devices of les transpositions d'art to give brilliance and color to descriptions jewelled with precious stones and enamels. However, the limitations which had hedged in literary beginnings in Canada held him also captive. Although Chapman was ambitious and responsive and talented, his verse bears unconscious testimony to the difficult road by which he and his generation were obliged to travel.

VI

Early in the nineties in Montreal, a new movement in French-Canadian literature gave discernible signs of flickering life in the form of ephemeral literary journals, in which youthful ambition stood out for freedom from accepted standards of thought and expression. A more permanent form was given to their activities by the organization of a literary society¹ in November, 1895. The minute-books of ensuing meetings reveal a roster of young lawyers, journalists, collegians who were not only bent on creative work, but were engrossed in a program of study calculated to improve their general culture. Sixteen literary enthusiasts who constituted l'Ecole littéraire de Montréal, gathered in the Château de Ramezay on Friday evenings around a baize-covered table strewn with manuscripts, to read their verses to each other, to criticize and revise, to exchange choice quotations from France, to analyze and sift and balance. Emile Nelligan was among them in the cigarette smoke, with Albert Ferland, E. Z. Massicotte, Jean Charbonneau and Charles Gill, the painter-poet. Albert Lozeau, detained at home in an invalid's chair, followed them in spirit and sent along his verses. A spontaneous outburst of applause from critical colleagues was the rich reward to which all members aspired.

After three years (1895-98) had passed in this unacclaimed endeavor, the School entered upon a brief period (1898-1900) of acknowledged success. A series of public meetings was held at which the members themselves recited their compositions and in 1900 these sessions were crowned by the publication of Les Soirees du Château de Ramezay, a compilation of the best prose and verse produced to date. The preface, written by Charles Gill, will remain one of the important documents of French-Canadian literature, because it transmits the spirit which actuated the group in the face of the current conviction that there was no career for the poet in Canada. However the personnel of the School may have changed through the years, it is clear that its energizing motive remained essentially the same, namely, to offset the multitudinous discouragements which confronted a

¹Louis Dantin, "Les Débuts de l'Ecole littéraire," Gloses critiques (Montreal, 1931), pp. 179-99.

would-be writer by offering him a congenial group of fellow aspirants whose friendly criticism would stimulate him to perfect his productions. Once again the word "School" was not to be interpreted in the European sense of the term to signify a community of doctrines or principles, since each member of the group was at perfect liberty to develop his talent in accordance with whatever code he saw fit to choose. In this the School of Montreal was at one with the School of Quebec. There were, however, fundamental differences, which will become apparent as we study the work of Emile Nelligan, Albert Lozeau, Charles Gill and Albert Ferland.

VII

Beneath his prideful pose and his unshaken belief in his own superior endowment, Emile Nelligan (b. 1882) knew the loneliness of that spiritual isolation from which Vigny's "Stello" suffered. Unfortunately, there was no "Docteur Noir" to minister to his need. By 1900 Nelligan had written his last line and at the age of eighteen had already entered the tragic darkness of his long mental affliction. The best of his work was made available in 1903 when Louis Dantin published the little volume entitled Emile Nelligan et son oeuvre. Here the Canadian milieu with its history and scenery are virtually neglected for the conveyance of the writer's feeling or fancy by means of the fleeting lightness of Symbolistic suggestion, or for the sensuous richness of the carefully carved contours favored by the Parnassians. Nelligan's preoccupation with the subjective and his love of external beauty were accentuated by these French influences, because they were part of his temperament to begin with. If Nelligan used the devices of Verlaine to reproduce conventional, impressionist landscapes, and to communicate his filial devotion and religious vacillation, he turned the procédés of the Symbolists more frequently to the expression of his own melancholy spirit. Whereas his treatment of the themes of nature, love and religion is quite derivative, his besetting sadness gave the dull tones of declining day to everything it touched, so that there is hardly a page of his verse but bears the well defined shadow of death. Dantin tells us that the lad had a presentiment of his tragic fate. His subordination of all other themes to

that of death in its idealized as well as its more material aspects would make him a Decadent; but while there are touches of the gross, the absence of sensuality differentiates him from European models. His poems of Parnassian externality have rich rhymes and metallic sounds, exotic touches and glints of color which recall Hérédia. With the Canadian, however, it is not a question of the erudite restoration of a given historical period, for he shirked the study which was the basis of Parnassian themes. Again, he rarely attained impassive calm because of his fondness for a touch of sentiment or a vision of the shades of the past. Though Nelligan seems to have caught the literary value of les transpositions d'art, his own use of the terms of the plastic arts is neither frequent nor elaborate, probably because of his lack of technical knowledge. Yet he seized upon some of the cardinal literary devices of the Parnassians, which with the musical suggestiveness of the Symbolists made his poetry a shimmering fabric of sensations such as had never been created in Canada before him. His importance is incontestable, since he broke away from the accepted forms of his day and in projecting his own gloomy foreboding, emulated the subtle shadings of the later French schools. It need hardly be said that this deliberate abandonment of the native heath in order to cultivate the gaudy flora of Parisian boulevards filled his patriotic elders with alarm.

The modest, calm spirit of Albert Lozeau (1878-1924), who wrote verse as tenuous as chamber music to beguile the heavy hours of his invalidism, contrasts sharply with the gloomy intensity and meteoric passing of Emile Nelligan. Lozeau wrote his poetry, as it were, on the margin of life, and consequently it lacks that plenitude which is the boon of experience. On the other hand, it was undoubtedly his isolation which saved him from the banality of the traditional themes of his Canadian predecessors. Confined to his small bedroom, Lozeau was prompted to contemplate the inner heaven of his own fancy, to seek direction from the books he read, inspiration from the friends who came to him, and subject matter in the limited view from the window. Simplicity and sincerity are his predominant qualities, and fragile subjects delicately handled were his predilection. While many poems show that Lozeau was in sympathy with the more temperate moods of the Symbolists, and able to use their technique, his verse is notably

devoid of artifice. The vocabulary is pure and unpretentious; erudite and even cultured allusions are notably absent; there is no exotic coloring whatever. An examination of the versification confirms his declared preference for classical regularity. Such a medium was admirably suited as a vehicle for that sincerity which led him to choose Musset as his master. With more truthfulness than anyone before him in Canada, Lozeau analyzed the moods of love. He exorcised the bogey of rhetoric, pushed mundane externals out of his sanctum and proceeded to communicate the common mysteries of loving hearts. With similar power for the notation of la nuance, he watched through the hours and in all sorts of weather, the gradual shifting of light and shade at his window; he was grateful for the distant music of a violin-cello or the creaking of a weathervane as concrete incidents in his larger susceptibility to atmosphere. Thus his record of the passing seasons was as different from the manner of the School of Quebec as was the delicate precision of his religious meditation from their formal recognition of feast days. Lozeau broached directly the subject of personal devotion and faith. The reality of his own spiritual struggle against the cowardice that so easily besets an invalid was no doubt a factor in enabling him to differentiate gradations of feeling. Yet in doing this, Lozeau was neither morbidly searching nor tiresomely unctuous, for the wings of fancy saved him from being earth-bound. In addition to his recourse to the subjective and the imaginative, Lozeau's regard for adequate poetical expression and his discontent with his own strivings made him a true brother of the high-minded band of the Château de Ramezay. The final edition of his poetry was published in three volumes under the title Poésies complètes in 1925-26, with a brief introductory note by the author, who had arranged and revised the contents prior to his death.

Many a sombre afternoon of autumn and winter was brightened for Albert Lozeau by the frequent visits of Charles Gill (1871-1918), who liked to read Lamartine aloud and who always carried with him a little leather-bound copy of Jocelyn. In the city Gill was known for twenty-two years as the Professor of Drawing at the Jacques Cartier Normal School, as a painter of portraits for government galleries, as an intermittent contributor of prose and verse to various newspapers, and as a charter

member of l'Ecole littéraire. After Gill died, some forty-four pieces of verse were taken from his cahiers and published under the title Le Cap Eternité, poème, suivi des Etoiles filantes (1919). The short poems of the second part of the volume are of little importance. The first part offers twelve cantos and the prologue of an uncompleted poem which the author had resolved to write in honor of his native land. He is of interest among the poets of Montreal because he shared the subjective interests of his generation while remaining very conservative in his manner of expression. In this last, he was pseudo-classical and reactionary in days when the trend was towards a closer grip on actuality. Vague epithets, noble words, frequent periphrasis and capitalized personifications predominate over the use of Hugonian procédés, although it was the Romanticists whom Gill eulogized in grandiloquent lines to the complete neglect of Symbolists and Parnassians alike. His individuality in the treatment of subject-matter lies in his effort to convey the mystical wonder inspired by the contemplation of the Saguenay's rugged escarpments. The actual description of what he saw seems secondary to his endeavor to capture in words the elusive thoughts and imaginings which combined to form the reaction of the traveller to the silent might of the river and its setting. Added to the impression of strength and majesty conveyed by the haughty profiles of enormous cliffs, there was that sense of their timelessness which had characterized Garneau's conception of Nature. Then again, the Capes became the symbols of the soul's approach to God. Eternity, sheer and precipitous, seemed to Gill to represent the reason of the thinker, which succeeds only in accentuating the depth of unfathomed abysses. Trinity with its triple slope symbolized to him the easier, surer approach by le rêve, that of the mystic who believes where he cannot see. His frequent use of the word Infini and the balance of l'abîme de l'âme over against l'abîme du ciel recall Pascal. The glories of the sunrise and the sunset in these awesome surroundings at first laid bare the poet's utter unworthiness and moved him to deep humility until through prayer and contemplation came the realization that above this display of might and endurance is the vaster eternity of God, the immortality of the soul. Gill infused into formal orthodoxy the glow of a personal mysticism, and the shield of a firm Christianity guarded him from the pantheism or fatalism of the French Romanticists.

In giving the subjective a large place in his works Gill was quite within the trend of his own generation.

In 1908, the year before Charles Gill made a resolute beginning upon his allegory, another member of l'Ecole littéraire, Albert Ferland (b. 1872) began the publication of a poetical project to which he gave the collective title Le Canada chanté. He had brought out two volumes of verse before 1900, but they are of small significance apart from the fact that they reveal Ferland as a devoted follower of the French Romanticists. Indeed, his poetry represents a blend of traditional loyalties with the modern effort to capture elusive and obscure beauty. The patriotism and religious faith of his forebears were the dynamic forces that impelled him to write when he knew full well that the land of the maple offered no worldly wealth to the poet. At the same time, Ferland was endowed with the perception which characterized his analytical contemporaries and which enabled him to transcribe into verse such unheralded truths as the yearning of the earth for spring-time warmth, or the slow fading of contours in summer's dusk. Whereas Gill was attracted by the grandiose, Ferland participated with Lozeau in the increasing tendency to find poetical value in the commonplace. His Nature, then, is that of the average citizen who liked to loiter in the woods of Mount Royal, or to take an occasional excursion to some suburban retreat. Ferland made the trees his particular friends, calling them by name in the habitat favorable to each and pondering the prehistoric past when their moist shade used to stretch from the coast to inland seas. He followed the Canadian tradition, in recognizing that the land of trees possessed a venerable past inseparable from love of country and devotion to Deity.

Garneau, Lenoir and Lemay had intimated the literary possibilities offered by the aborigines of the country. Ferland, in making a versified translation of an Indian text culled from the Jesuit chronicles, or in intoning an Alaskan lullaby, discovered a lyrical beauty and fresh coloring which open vistas of the unclaimed wealth of material which still awaits poetic development.

In style and expression, Ferland was elegant and reticent. Without doubt, the prevailing regularity of the versification and the chastened literary form contribute to his cool pastel coloring. The vocabulary is restricted to the unpretentious words of current

usage. He was one of those moderns who dissociated poetry from the pomp of circumstance. There is no glitter, yet his work does not lack for original and effective lines. The coloring may be cool but there is vitality and behind it a truly poetic temperament. In harmony with his conception of poetic themes, Ferland chose a sober garment of simple diction and regular rhythms, but he wore it with a grace that betokened the artist.

VIII

We come now to a consideration of the work of two poets who belonged to the early twentieth century in Quebec, but who were not identified with l'Ecole littéraire. Before proceeding to study their verse, it may be well to recall the major facts in the literary life of the province at that time.

The deliberate choice on the part of young aesthetes such as Nelligan, to indulge in subjective revelations and to cultivate the manner of the fin de siècle French poets to the neglect of the principles which were the very fibre of life in Quebec, provoked protests from men of the older generation. The School of Quebec had been concerned with the preservation of a national identity based on the ideals of French forebears, which in the course of the years had been moulded into a Canadian spirit quite distinct from that of modern France. Now the labor of the pioneers toward a national literature would be frustrated if the young writers, in their effort to achieve a higher level in formal expression, were to become so absorbed over Parisian imports that they lost the very substance that should distinguish their productions as French Canadian.

In 1902, the Société du Parler Français au Canada was organized in Quebec under the auspices of Laval University. As the name suggests, its primary interest was philological in the broadest sense. Not only was research pushed forward in the science of the language of French Canada but a monthly publication was founded with the dual object of encouraging literary activity and of creating more informed sympathy on the part of the public. Furthermore, its most important influence was one of orientation. In 1903, it launched its campaign for the "nationalisation" of French-Canadian literature, quite aware that the School of Quebec had already established the trend in that

direction, but conscious that the time was ripe for a renewal of loyalty to the traditions of the province. The address of Camille Roy before the annual meeting of the Society, December 8, 1904, at Laval University is another important document in the history of French-Canadian letters.¹ On that occasion, Roy elucidated the true meaning of the slogan "Traiter des sujets canadiens et les traiter d'une façon canadienne."

"Nationalisation" had the dual advantage of making a powerful appeal to racial fidelities and of emerging at a time when conditions were increasingly favorable to literary production. The perpetuation of traditions as a means of ensuring ethnical independence was the true objective of this movement of the twentieth century. It was not purely literary or artistic. Even l'Ecole littéraire, as we have seen, was not unresponsive to the urge to find inspiration in one's native land. The advocacy of Canadian subjects found such widespread acceptance that le terroir not only became the vogue but entrenched itself so firmly as to dominate like a "pious obsession." The commonplace obscurities of regional life, because they escaped the alloy of foreign influence, and so possessed a cast that was peculiarly French-Canadian, seemed an open sesame to national distinctiveness. Poetasters were all too ready to serve the cause of their race by singing of homely lives. Thus "nationalisation" in the minds and in the practice of many became synonymous with regionalism.

On the other hand, there were those who decried any attempt to define the limits of the poet's freedom, who cherished instead an unfettered individualism and who aspired to impeccable form. The directors of the Nigog, the first number of which appeared in 1919, supported this point of view. They contended that art must never be made subservient to a philosophical or moral purpose. A poet should first give himself to the mastery of technique and thereby earn freedom in the choice of subjects.

It remains to study two poets who are recognized as representatives of their respective groups quite apart from l'Ecole littéraire considered above: Blanche Lamontagne Beauregard, a regionalist whose first volume, Visions gaspésiennes, appeared in 1913, and Paul Morin whose Paon d'émail was published in Paris chez Lemerre in 1911.

¹"La nationalisation de la littérature canadienne," Essais sur la littérature canadienne (Quebec, 1907), pp. 347-76.

IX

Madame Beauregard (b. 1889), since her marriage a resident of Montreal, dedicated her lyre from the beginning to "la petite patrie" which as Blanche Lamontagne she had known in a remote county of Lower Quebec, and to the "habitants" from whom she was descended. Her six volumes of verse, of which Ma Gaspésie (1928) is the most recent, are infused with the "claire mélancholie" of the "terre du silence" with its dual majesty of pine-clad heights and the wide sky of the sea. Gaspé is the promontory which forms eastern Quebec, "that long stone finger pointing southeastwards into the gulf." These poems are peopled with the types native to its valleys and beaches, hardy toilers of land and sea, the aged and infirm, industrious housewives. All that gladdens the hearts of these people is centred in the poor gray homes where warm security, domestic affection and cheerful hospitality envelop those who dream before the fire, pray before the crucifix or forget the hard day in story and song. For Blanche Lamontagne, it was above all the house of her ancestors, haunted by memories of the past and the unseen presence of the departed. The remembrance of the dead became under her pen a pervasive daily consciousness of the destiny of the race, so that the light of eternity shone round about the hearth and the hereafter was no further removed than the limitation of the senses. Hence the care of children and home, the quiet tarrying of old age, the beatitude of human affection at evening in the ancestral house were sublimated by being viewed in the long perspective of ancient inheritance, as well as objectified in the concrete setting of the present, and continued in an unending vista into the future. Thus she renewed the fidelities of the School of Quebec and presented them with modern cogency. It was a strengthening of the sinews of survival which bound the past to the future in a continuity implicit in French-Canadian regionalism. Far from aiming at decentralization as did the provincial writers of France, she seems to have striven for a renewal of those ties which in the early days, bound all of Quebec into a unit. The modernity of Blanche Lamontagne is not found in her artistry. She is indifferent to the niceties of prosody. She belongs to the twentieth century in so far as she sought beneath externals the unseen pulse to which her soul responded. The externals were regional; the pulse was racial.

It remains to be seen how her contemporary, Paul Morin, revelled in exotic beauty to the virtual neglect of provincial themes.

A graduate of Laval and a doctor of the Sorbonne, Paul Morin (b. 1889) has had the added privilege of frequent and extensive travel. His two books of poetry Le Paon d'émaïl (1911) and Poèmes de cendre et d'or (1922) are brilliant with the colors of southern Europe and the Orient, with the learning of the student, and with the controlled facility of gifted inspiration. Taking a motto from a "Réverie persane" by the Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles, Morin sang the peacock as a pretext for the indulgence of his delight in the sumptuous languor of ancient civilizations, in the arts of empires that have vanished, in the perfumed warmth and color of countries far away. Never had such magnificence seen the light of day among the thrifty homespuns of the Canadian Parnassus! Morin gathered the pleasurable melancholy of decadent glory, the quaint grace of mediaevalism, the faded glamor of the eighteenth century, the directness of simple rusticity and set them in his volume with mottoes from Samain, Dante, R gnier and Theocritus. It is a visual exoticism supported by the firm groundwork of scholarship, and at the same time held in check by prevailing good taste.

While in his second volume Morin is still the poet of the golden distance, the perspectives here were often veiled with the haze of fine rain or touched with the ashes of human sorrow. Little by little the poet disclosed that he had met sober reality, and by weaving his experience into his work, he revealed more of his own personality. This is found in his reaction to the fate of Baudelaire's albatross -- the perennial misery of being obliged to walk the deck with the fatuous crew while one's wings dragged useless. The crushing of the Muse under the burden of earning a livelihood, as Morin himself had known the experience, was brought more brusquely and more poetically into the limelight than ever before in Canada. Cr mazie had taken the pressure of daily economy into account in his diary; Garneau had contemplated its adverse effect upon the higher national survival; Lemay had endured it resignedly; critics and prose writers had recognized that it jeopardized the literary life of the province. Morin enlivened his condemnation of this tyranny of materialism with pointed satire, and at the same time he revealed the cause that had sapped his buoyancy. In literary expression Morin was a

discriminating experimentalist in a variety of styles, and he made royal use of the resources of French prosody. Above all, good taste, inherent elegance, skill in craftsmanship were quickened by a sensibility and an imaginative power that knew high moments of real inspiration.

X

We may now attempt to sum up those traits common to the body of French-Canadian poetry. To begin with, poets have been able to imbue their work with their personalities even while remaining within the invisible limits prescribed by the trends of their time. Fréchette's irrespressible histrionism, for instance, is as unmistakable in the swell of epic périodes as is the cool grace of Ferland in fragile quatrains. Though exotic yearnings are sometimes voiced as a means of escape from Canadian conditions, it is noteworthy that in no poet have we found a rebel against the religious truths revered in Quebec. There is entire absence of that rational pessimism which arises from doubt of Deity or the contemplation of the grosser social sores which infest an older civilization. Again, the common background of a limited leisure is reflected in the work of most of these poets by a shallow appropriation of French culture so that their knowledge and judgment in aesthetics is often uncertain and their taste questionable (Fréchette, Chapman). On the other hand, whenever enlightened criticism led to artistic perception and prompted meticulous care, formal excellence was achieved (Nelligan, Morin). On the whole, however, l'art pour l'art had as little encouragement in French Canada as had gleanings from European philosophies. The persistent struggle which was the price of survival has usually dictated the themes and inspired the spirit of a century of verse. The Muse was often made to serve the social cause, presiding at the national festivals, curbing emigration, encouraging education, extolling the country as opposed to the city, enjoining charity, upholding the sanctity of motherhood, maintaining the dignity of honest toil, defending language, religion and laws by lauding their worth. We have seen that the poets of l'Ecole littéraire were indubitably endowed with a gift for discerning subtle gradations and for making analyses (Lozeau, Ferland), but when this inclined to introspection and subjectivity, the

movement of "nationalisation" brought many of them to a sense of the claims of native land (Lozeau, Gill). The French Canadians have given evidence that they appreciate the poets of France, but Canadian acceptance of the latter is marked by an adaptation of themes to suit the needs of a distinct social spirit. Hence, regionalism in Quebec aimed at national solidarity, even while reproducing in verse the homely externals and humble routine of the petites patries. Nature was viewed as the undying witness of succeeding generations which in themselves were the fulfilment of racial continuance. Somewhat outside the Canada-conscious current were a few aesthetes like Nelligan and Morin.

This poetry, then, is marked by distinctive traits characteristic of an independent people. It is French-Canadian not merely because the subject-matter is taken from the history and scenery of a new country. The delineation of the externals of provincial life, with the coloring characteristic of festivals, sports, labor, would not be completely representative of the soul of a people. These poets, whether mainly objective or subjective in their interest, whether striving toward epic or sincerely lyrical, are as a group profoundly true to their heritage from the past and resolutely confident of the future. Underneath the rich variety of personalities, of forms, of subjects, directly or indirectly, the multi-colored threads of their weaving are spun in most cases from "the Canadian miracle."

